BOOKER TALIAFERRO WASHINGTON: THE VIEW FROM CRISIS MAGAZINE, 1910-1915

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ABSTRACT

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This study consists of an examination of the relationship between Booker T. Washington and William Edward Burghardt Du Bois as documented in Crisis Magazine from 1910 to 1915. Crisis is the official monthly publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which began in 1910 with Dr. Du Bois as its editor just after the Niagara Movement. The differences in the philosophies of the two "race" men is easily recognized in selected editorials of Du Bois in Crisis during this five-year turbulent period ending with Washington's early death.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Booker Taliaferro Washington: The View from the Crisis Magazine, 1910-1915 is an investigation into the emergence of Booker Washington as a spokesman for the Negro people, and the opinion of Washington's role expressed by W. E. B. Du Bois, founder and editor of Crisis Magazine.

Booker T. Washington's classic program for Negroes in American society emphasized industrial education, a political behavior, and a spirit of aderence of race harmony. W. E. B. Du Bois, on the other hand, was outspoken and even bellicose. He wanted Black people to pursue a course that would let them make use of their intellectual talents. He insisted on the point that if more and more members of the race became lawyers, scholars, doctors and the like the race could be less dependent on the white race.

The Crisis Magazine came on the scene in part from the friction between the two men. In the Crisis Du Bois discussed and attacked Washington's ways and method of solving the Negro problem. The Crisis was a monthly publication featuring articles, editorials, and reports on events and happenings that concerned and affected the Negro community. Our interest in the Crisis is confined to the period when it reported the life of Booker T. Washington, who died in 1915.

CHAPTER II

WASHINGTON AND DU BOIS IN CONFLICT

Booker T. Washington, once called the leader and representative of the Negro race in the United States, was a leader in a qualified sense. He devoted his life to directing Negroes in what he believed to be the path of progress. The single most important event that catapulted his emergence was his Atlanta Address made in 1895. The enthusiastic reception of the address indicated that in it was something that appealed to many sides and to a large middle ground of opinion.

In this speech, which made him a national figure, Washington expressed the essentials of his economic philosophy and his views on the relations between races. The most famous part was the passage in which he asserted that although the economic interests of whites and Negroes were interdependent, in social relations, the two races could be separate as the fingers on the hand.[1]

Heralded and applauded, Booker T. Washington reflected and expressed that he was anxious about the occasion for him to speak directly to a representative southern white audience. When the invitation came to Washington asking him to do this he had engagements

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[1] Emma Lou Thornbrough, Booker T. Washington: Great Lives Observed (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 33.

in Boston that seemed to make it impossible for him to speak in Atlanta; however, he found that he could take a train from Boston that would get him into Atlanta about thirty minutes before his address was to be delivered, and that he could remain in Atlanta for about sixty minutes before taking another train for Boston. His invitation to speak in Atlanta stipulated that he was to confine his address to five minutes. The question then was whether or not he could put enough into a five-minute address. What he said was received with favour and enthusiasm. The Atlanta papers of the next day commented in friendly terms on his address, and a good deal was said about it in different parts of the country. He was to later say that he had in some degree accomplished his objective. The objective being that he had gotten a hearing from the dominant class of the South.

In 1895, a time of misunderstanding and uncertainty over the roles the races had between each other, there was doubt in many sectors as to the ability of the Negro, unguided and unsupported, to hew out his own path and put into a visible, tangible, and indisputable form, the products and signs of a civilization. Booker Washington in trying to convey his personal philosophy accepted this doubt. He felt it couldn't be extinguished by mere abstract arguments no matter how ingeniously and convincingly advanced. He believed that by being quiet, patient, dogged, through summer and winter, sunshine and shadow, through self-sacrifice, foresight, honesty and industry the Negro could reenforce his arguments against this doubt with results. One farm bought, one house built, one home neatly kept, one

man the largest tax payer and depositor in the local bank, one school or church maintained, one factory running successfully, one truck garden profitably cultivated, one patient cured by a Negro doctor, one sermon well preached, one office well filled, one life cleanly lived, surmised Washington would tell more in the Negro's favor than all the abstract eloquence that could be summoned to plead the Negro's cause. Of the race Washington said:

> Our race is emotional. The average black man can feel more in an hour than a white man can in a day. It is one of the their hymns that says, give me Jesus and you take all the rest, and the white men are only too ready to take them at their word.[2]

Washington further stated that the race should see to it that it not only emphasized in its work as teachers the opportunities that were before the race but should also emphasize the fact that the race ought to become a hopeful encouraged race. There was no hope for any man or woman, whatever his color, who was pessimistic, who was continually whining and crying about his condition. There was hope for any people, however handicapped by difficulties, that makes up its mind that it will succeed, that it will make success the stepping stone to a life of success and usefulness.

One of the most striking and interesting things about the masses of the Negro race and one which had impressed itself upon Washington's mind more and more was the extent to which the black man's

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[2] Ibid., p. 79.

life had intertwined with that of the people of the white race about him. While it was true that hardly any other race of people that had come to this country had remained in certain respects so separate and distinct a part of the population as the Negro, it was also true that no race that had come to this country had so woven its life into the life of the people about it. No race had shared to a greater extent in the work and activities of the original settlers of the country or had been more closely related to them in interest, sympathy and sentiment than the Negro race. There was scarcely any enterprise of any moment that had been undertaken by a member of the white race in which the Negro had not had some part.

Even though the Negro adopted his own life to that of the people around him uniting his interests and sympathies with those of the dominant white race, he also managed to keep his life separate and to prevent friction in his dealings with the other portions of his community. Few white people realize what the Negro had to do and to what extent he had been compelled to go out of his way to avoid causing trouble and prevent friction. Washington used the example of a large city in which he knew of a business place in which there was a cigar stand, a shoeshine stand, a place for cleaning hats and a barbershop all in one large room. Any Negro could without question have his hat cleaned, his boots shined, or buy a cigar in this place but he could not take a seat in the barber's chair. The minute he should do this he would be asked to go somewhere else. Washington's message, was reassuring to those who were looking for the uplift of

the Black race. Some of the masses were obtaining possession of fine residential property. Some of them wished to live in fine houses the same as white folks and they wanted to have the good things that white folks had. They also wanted to have the good things which money would buy and to be judged by any other test than color because they believed they were very desirable citizens.

Equally important but on the other end of the spectrum of what the black man's method of getting equality should be were the Negro intellectuals of the NAACP and the talented tenth body. Most of these men were graduates of northern colleges and made their homes for the most part in the North. Washington felt that they believed that leadership in all race matters should remain as throughout its existence in the North. They were opposed to any change from the policy of uncompromising and relentless antagonism to the South so long as there seemed to them to be anything in southern conditions wrong or unjust to the Negro. Washington felt they were only able upon every occasion to quote a phrase or a sentiment from Shakespeare, Milton, Cicero, or some other great writer. He was to say that every time any problem arose they were on the spot with a phrase or a quotation. He said in college they studied problems and solved them on paper. He felt they failed to realize these problems had already been solved by someone else and all that they had to do was to learn the answers. They had never faced any unsolved problems in college and all that they learned had not taught them the patience and persistance which alone solved real problems. This class of people,

Washington felt, made it a business of keeping the troubles, the wrongs, and the hardships of the Negro race before the public. Having learned that they were able to make a living out of their troubles they had grown into the settled habit of advertising the wrongs of the Negro race. He believed that they did this partly because they wanted sympathy, partly because it paid, and partly because some of these people did not want the Negro to lose his grievances because they did not want to lose their jobs.[3]

Washington had long been convinced that if these men had gone into the South and taken up and become interested in some practical work which would have brought them in touch with people and things, the whole world then would have looked very different to them. Bad as conditions might have seemed at first, when they saw that actual progress was being made, they would have taken a more hopeful view of the situation. The truth was, Washington suggested, the Negro intellectuals lived too much in the past. They knew books but they did not know men. They knew a great deal about the slavery controversy for example but they knew nothing about the Negro. He blasted especially their ignorance in regard to the actual needs of the colored people in the South during that day.

Another body of Negroes which exercised tremendous power among Negroes was the Negro press. Few if any persons outside the Negro race understood the power and influence of the Negro newspaper. There

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[3] Ibid., p. 57.

were about two hundred newspapers published by colored men at different points in the United States at this time. With the exception of about three, two hundred newspapers stood loyally by Washington in all his plans and policies to uplift the race. He called upon them freely to aid him in making known his plans and ideas and they had always responded in a most generous fashion to all the demands that he had made upon them.

It had been suggested to him at different times that he should purchase a Negro newspaper in order that he might have an organ to make known his views on matters concerning the policies and interests of the race. Certain persons had suggested also that he pay money to certain of these papers in order to make sure that they supported his views. He confessed that there had frequently been times when it seemed that the easiest way to combat some statements that he knew to be false or to correct some impression which seemed to him peculiarly injurious would have been to have a paper of his own or to pay for the privilege of setting forth his own views in the editorial column of some paper which he did not own. However, Washington was convinced that either of those two courses would have proven fatal. The minute that it become known that he owned an organ, the other papers would have ceased to support him as they did. He reasoned, had he attempted to use money with some papers he would have soon had to use it with all of them. Further, if he had paid for the support of newspapers once, he would have had to go on paying all the time and if he had succeeded in bribing them, he would had had a lot of hired men and no

sincere and earnest supporters. He concluded that although he might gain for himself some apparent and temporary advantage in this way he would have destroyed the value and influence of the very papers that supported him.[4]

In his relation to the southern white, Booker Washington found one of the first questions he had to answer for himself was how to deal with the white views of the race question. All the different views about the kind of education that the Negro ought to or ought not to have were deeply tinged with racial and sectional feelings. The rule of the carpet bag government had just come to an end in the South and the masses of the white people were very bitter against the Negroes as a result of the excitement and agitation of Reconstruction. As it was, at the angle where these opposing forces met, Booker T. Washington saw that in carrying out the work that he had planned, he knew he was likely to be opposed or criticized at some point by southern whites.

Washington knew that northern people believed that the South at that time did not believe in the power of education to inspire, to uplift, and to regenerate the masses of black people. Northern people would be willing and glad to give their support to any school or other agency that proposed to do this in a fundamental way. It was often a puzzling and a trying problem to determine how best to win and hold the respect of the northern and southern whites who looked with such

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[4] Ibid., p. 55.

different eyes and from such widely different points of view as to what he was attempting to do.

One thing which gave Washington faith at the outset and increased his confidence as he went on was the insight which he early gained into the actual relations of the races in the South. He observed in the first place that as the result of two hundred and fifty years of slavery the two races had come together in intimate ways that people outside the South could not understand and of which the southern whites and Negroes themselves were not fully conscious. He also perceived that the two races needed each other. As this thought got hold in his mind and he began to see further into the picture of the task that he had undertaken to perform which included handling the agitation over the controversy that divided the North from the South, and Black from white. It all seemed unreal and artificial to him. It seemed as if the people who carried on political campaigns were engaged to a very large extent in a battle with shadows and that these shadows represented prejudices and animosities. Often times Washington was asked how it was that he secured the confidence and good wishes of so large a number of white people concerning the South. Washington said that he merely tried to be perfectly frank and straight forward at all times in his relations with them. Washington said he made it a rule to talk to the southern white people concerning what he called their shortcomings toward the

Negro rather than talk about Negroes.[5] Also, Washington succeeded in getting the sympathy and support of southern white people because he tried to recognize and to face conditions as they were and had honestly tried to bring about a better condition.

As for the northern white people, Washington's gain came about from the fact that they felt that he had tried to use their gifts honestly and in a manner to bring about real and lasting results. He learned earlier that in education as in other things nothing but honest work lasted but fraud and sham were bound to be detected in the end. In conclusion, on his attracting of northern whites, Washington always let them know that he did not want to get away from his own race and that he was just as proud of being a Negro as they were of being white people.[6]

Basic to the Washington ideology was the conviction that the progress of the Negro race rested on economic foundations. Instead of fighting a losing battle for political rights, Negroes should work hard, acquire property, and thereby win the respect of their white neighbors. From this the conferral of political rights would follow. To Negroes Washington said that the South offered them better opportunities for employment and economic progress than the North. To the white industrialists of the new South he said that it was to their

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[5] Ibid., p. 53.

[6] Ibid.

advantage to employ Negroes. He pointed out that in contrast to white union labor, they constituted a reliable and loyal labor force not given to strikes.[7] While stressing the interdependence of whites and Negroes he also emphasized self-help and urged Negroes to establish their own businesses and become independent of the white community. Washington's proposal was the importance of green power. He often implied that it was more important than political rights. Theoretically, in some sections the black man had difficulty voting by the little white ballot which he had the privilege of depositing about twice every two years and having it counted whereas on the other hand, by a little green ballot he could "vote" through the teller's window 313 days in every year and no one would throw it out or refuse to count it. The man who had the property, the intelligence, the character, would be the one that was going to have the largest share in controlling the government whether he was white or Black or whether in the North or South.

Proving his enterpreneurship, Washington later organized the Negro Business League. In one meeting of the Negro Business League at Boston, much favorable opinion of Washington as its President was evident. He was perceived as a powerful magnet attracting the energy, interest and applause of a very large audience. Why President Washington would be the last man in the world to promote a commercial league such as this, to the neglect of the educational and other

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[7] Ibid., p. 47.

phases of the Negro people's development? Convinced as he was that a sound economic basis was essential to the progress of any great race, he went ahead with his appointment as the League's President. He battled this League's battle for economic prosperity and was confident that the other things would be added to it. Economic progress in Washington's thinking meant improved race relations. Friction between races would pass away in proportion as the Black man produced something that the white man wanted or respected in the commercial world. This was part of the reason why at Tuskegee Washington pushed industrial training. At the institution, Washington found, as they every year put into a southern community, colored men who could start a brickyard or a printing office, the relations of the races in that community changed. Washington suspected that as the Negro went along for a few more years knitting their business and industrial relations into those like the whites until a black man got a mortgage on a white man's house that he could foreclose at will, the white man on whose house the mortgage rested, would not try to prevent that Negro from voting when he went to the polls.[8] It was through the dairy farm, the trades and commercial life that the Negro was to find his way to the enjoyment of all his rights. Whether a white man would or would not have liked a Negro he truly respected a Negro who owned a two-story brick house. The Black man had found within the southern states an open door in labor, industry and business that had not been surpassed

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[8] Ibid., p. 44.

anywhere. Washington believed good labor relations brought the Negro capital which freed him from tyranny and despotism and made a white man employ him for the wage that was mutually agreeable and profitable to both. It was through this way that the form of slavery which prevented a man from selling his labor to whom he pleased on account of his color was almost unknown.

The Negro in all parts of the country was beginning to appreciate the advantages which the South afforded for earning a living by commercial developments. Just as this was true; the Black man assumed also that he had a friend in his southern white neighbor. The white man was glad the Black man was furnishing him with labor and would not strike or engage in lockouts and labor wars.[9] The Negro laborer was law abiding, peaceful, teachable, religious, and patriotic. The southern white employer knew that this laborer had never been tempted to follow the red flag of anarchy but always the flag of his country and the spotless banner of the cross. Whites were glad Booker T. Washington had Negroes convinced that the price of success meant beginning at the bottom. To get to the top meant struggle, hardship, hunger, planning and sacrificing today and tomorrow would be yours to enjoy. He believed if you sat idly by and let the other fellow think, plan and lie awake at night strategizing, you could rest assured that the other fellow was going to control business everywhere.

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[9] Ibid., p. 47.

The next most persuasive element in Washington's side of the conflict was his autobiography, Up From Slavery, which was published in 1901. In Washington's autobiography, he gives a discussion on a desire while a child to be white as opposed to black. He said that as a boy he tried to imagine what it would be like to be white with an honored family name and distinguished ancestry. He felt this way because he could see that a proud family history and the desire to perpetuate it gave white boys the stimulus to succeed which Negroes lacked. On the other hand, defending being born Black, Washington said if he had been a member of a more popular race he might have been inclined to rely upon his ancestry and color to do for him what he should have done for himself.

In Up From Slavery Washington also analyzes Reconstruction which was another major issue to have precedence over the Black man's life. He felt that its policy toward Negroes had rested on a false foundation and was artificial and forced. He argued that it was a policy imposed by white northern politicians who wanted to punish southern white men by forcing Negroes into positions over the heads of southern whites.[10] It would have been better for the Negro in Washington's view if there had been no educational or property requirements for voting. He also said that instead of the Negro concentrating on political activity and looking to the federal government

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[10] Booker T. Washington, Up From Slavery (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Pub., 1963), p. 220.

for aid and protection, the recently emancipated slaves would have done better to have directed their energies toward self-help. The entire story of his life became an impressive example of the American success story of remarkable achievements in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles. It immediately became a best seller in the United States and was ultimately translated into more than a dozen foreign languages.

Given all of Washington's credentials, and his platform, the Negroes still were looking for a new and different method to obtain equality. The Black man who spearheaded such a demand and came into conflict with Washington was William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. Clearly here were two extremes. Of these the Crisis said in an editorial:

> With the propaganda of Mr. Washington we are all more or less acquainted. He emphasizes duties above rights, the actual over the abstract, and urges his followers to acquire money and commercial power, to farm in preference to teaching, to become such substantial citizens that prejudice will no longer hurt them even if it persists. Mr. Washington is the utilitarian of the Negro movement.
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> Dr. Du Bois, on the other hand, is the fiery idealist of the Negro movement, and Dr. Du Bois' spirit is not beating itself in vain against a stone wall, but is enkindling a flame in which both white and colored men may light the torches for their common forward march.[11]

It was through this type of fiery rhetoric brought on by Du Bois against the calm meliorism of Booker T. Washington that the Negro

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[11] W. E. B. Du Bois, "The New Abolition," Crisis 7, 5 (March 1914): 227.

movement began to change direction.

As the new century had come in and on its way at high speed Du Bois wrote The Souls of Black Folk which was published in 1903. It was in this prophetic masterpiece that the Washington-Du Bois clash is manifested. The chapter "Booker T. Washington and Others" discusses Du Bois's vigorous criticism of the older leaders' policies and programs. Du Bois watched the South respond to Booker Washington's efforts and not with cooperation but with Jim Crow legislation to keep the Negro out of the white man's railway and street cars, restaurants, hotels, theaters, concert halls, libraries, universities and schools. More often than ever the Negro was relegated to unpaved, unlighted, undrained slum areas of the cities and in many states was barred by devious methods from the ballot which the U.S. Constitution stated was the Negro's right. From 1890 to 1910, the South had hammered out a color caste system making political discrimination against the Negro legal by state laws against the intent of the post-war amendments to the Constitution.

A spectacular explosion of anger against Booker T. Washington and his policy took place in a Negro church. A fiery act which proved the flame was still hot and the rift was against what Washington thought the policy should be and what numerous other Negroes thought the policy should be. Negro conferences sprang up everywhere debating the opposition to Washington.

Du Bois called a conference in 1905 over the matter. Fifty-nine Negro men from seventeen different states joined in the call for

the meeting near Buffalo, New York during the week of July 9. The agenda was how to stop the Booker T. Washington propaganda. Du Bois went to Buffalo and rented a small hotel room on the Canada side of the river at Fort Erie and waited for the men to attend the meeting. If sufficient men had not come to pay for the rooms Du Bois would have been in bankruptcy and perhaps in jail. The fifty-nine men came. From this assembly a year later the Niagara Movement was organized January 31, 1906 and was incorporated in the District of Columbia.[12] Its particular business and objective was to advocate and promote the following principles:

1. Freedom of Speech and Criticism
2. Unfettered and Unsubsidized Press
3. Manhood Suffrage
4. The Abolition of All Caste Distinctions Based Simply on Race and Color
5. The Recognition of the Principles of Human Brotherhood as a Practical Present Creed
6. The Recognition of the Highest and Best Human Training as the Monopoly of No Class or Race
7. A Belief in the Dignity of Labor
8. United Effort to Realize These Ideals Under Wise and Courageous Leadership.[13]

These men also devised a manifesto crisply defining their goals. It stated:

> We shall not be satisfied with less than our full manhood rights. We claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a freeborn American, political, civil and social, and until we

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12 W. E. B. Du Bois, Dusk of Dawn (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich Pub. Co., 1940), p. 88.

13 Ibid., p. 88-91.

> get these rights we shall never cease to protest and assail the ears of America with the stories of its shameful deeds towards us. We want full manhood suffrage and we want it now. Second, we want discrimination in public accommodations to cease. Third, we claim the right of free men to associate with such people as wish to associate with us. Fourth, we want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor, against capitalists as well as laborers, against white as well as Black. We are not more lawless than the white race; we are more often arrested, convicted and mobbed. Fifth, we want our children educated. The school system of the country [especially] districts of the south is a disgrace to civilization, and in few towns and cities are the Negro schools what they ought to be.[14] We want this changed.

The core of these actions caused Washington's attempt to dominate Negro Americans by capitalistic ideas to die.

In 1909 under controversy about his views on Washington, Du Bois had to leave Atlanta University which he claimed was wise. The young President Ware had received an almost categorical promise that under "certain circumstances" increased contributions from the General Education Board and other sources might not be continued. This would have made the University insecure and would not have permitted the continuance of its studies. Du Bois was sure that he was at least one of those circumstances and so his work in Atlanta and his dream of the settlement of the Negro problem by science faded. He began to be accutely conscious of the difficulty which his attitudes and beliefs were making for Atlanta University. After leaving Atlanta University, he became the director of publications and research of the

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[14] Ibid., pp. 88-89.

newly formed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A position from which he continued to disagree with Booker T. Washington in its Crisis magazine.

The occurrence of a lynching, a gruesome and almost commonplace happening, dramatized to a group of liberal whites in New York the need for an organization to investigate such occurrences and Dr. Du Bois was invited to become a member of its staff. Their first meeting was held in 1909. Du Bois attended and the new organization began to develop a crusade. Without formal merger it absorbed practically the whole membership of the Niagra Movement. In this organization Du Bois was so held in check that the organization did not develop as an organ of attack upon Tuskegee and Booker Washington.

Du Bois interpreted the matter as a question of temperament and manner rather than of subject. Du Bois thought that the thoughts of Washington were the expression of social forces or ideologies which embraced more than their reasoned acts. They included physical, biological and psychological forces; habits, conventions and enactments. Opposed to those came natural reaction: the physical recoil of the victims. The unconscious and irrational urges as well as reasoned complaints and acts. The total result was the history being made in Washington's and Du Bois's day and choosing which course to take was what was triumphant in 1910 after Du Bois became involved with the NAACP.

Du Bois's second job was to get the Crisis going. This was the news magazine for the NAACP. After his arrival in New York in August

1910 and over a period of three months he got the first copy off the press in November. Crisis came at the right sociological moment and its success was phenomenal. From the one thousand which he ventured to publish at first, it went up a thousand copies a month. The organization published and sold over a hundred thousand copies. After a while with such succcess, Du Bois solicited Augustus G. Dill who had succeeded him at Atlanta Universtiy and he left his academic work and came to be business manager of Crisis magazine.

With the combined aid of Dill and many others, Du Bois could, though Crisis and his officers, secretaries and friends, place consistently and continuously before the country a clear-cut statement of the legitimate aims of the American Negro and the facts concerning his condition. They began to organize the Negro's political power and make it influential and started a campaign against lynching and mob rule which was the most effective ever organized and eventually brought the end of the evil into sight. Clearly, being an organ of propaganda and defence, Crisis was to be the caretaker of the Negro view. It is from here that the ideas of Booker Washington are challenged without Du Bois going back on his word to not exploit him.

From this point on in this paper Washington's views on the Negro's political educational and other roles will be discussed, analyzed and focussed on as published in the magazine since it is at this time that the Crisis came on the scene. Also other sources will be used.

CHAPTER III

W. E. B. DU BOIS AND THE CRISIS ON BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND POLITICS

Washington believed that the time would come when the Negro in the South would be accorded all the political rights which his ability, character, and material possessions entitled him to. He thought that the opportunity to freely exercise such political rights would not come in any large degree through outside or artificial forcing but would be accorded to the Negro by the southern white people themselves, and that they would protect him in the exercise of those rights.

He believed that the according of political rights was going to be a matter of natural, slow growth, not an overnight gourd-vine affair. He did not believe that the Negro should cease voting. For he knew that a man could not learn the exercise of self government by ceasing to vote any more than a boy could learn to swim by keeping out of the water. But he did believe that in his voting he should more and more be influenced by those of intelligence and character who were his next-door neighbors. He did not believe that any state should make a law that permitted an ignorant and poverty-stricken white man to vote and prevented a black man in the same condition from voting.

As a rule Washington believed in universal, free suffrage but

he believed that in the South Negroes were confronted with peculiar conditions that justified the protection of the ballot in many of the states. For a while at least he agreed that an educational test or a property test or both combined, should have been made to apply with equal and exact justice to both races.

Du Bois and his Crisis magazine documented a news source's response on how Washington's concern for how the Negro would attain political rights was accepted. It read:

> Booker Washington was a black, thick-lipped, ungainly specimen, born in slavery without a knowledge of his father or his birthdate. That is the picture of a real Negro . . .
>
> He plodded along, pulling his race with him, looking after the needs of the most lowly in a moral and intellectual way, demonstrating to the Negro that he could never be anything else but a Negro, that there was really no place worthy of his effort in the political life of this nation to which he could reasonably aspire as a race for generations to come.[1]

An editorial on the approving of Washington's appeal on how the Negro would obtain political rights by Du Bois and the Crisis magazine read:

> We note with some complacency that Mr. Booker T. Washington has joined the ranks of those os us who for some time have been insisting that the Negro is not having a fair chance in America. In the November Century Mr. Washington makes the following statements:
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> Reduced to its lowest terms, the fact is that a large part of our racial troubles in the United States grows out of some attempt to pass and execute a law that will make and keep one man superior to another, whether he is

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[1] W. E. B. Du Bois, "The South," Crisis 11, 3 (January 1916): 125.

intrinsically superior or not.[2]

An editorial disapproving of Washington's appeal on the Negro and political rights written up in "An Appeal to Europe" pamphlet by Crisis magazine:

> This Appeal, after stating that its signers do not agree with Mr. Washington's picture of conditions here, states the following grievances:
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> Our people were emancipated in a whirl of passion, and then left naked to the mercies of their enraged and impoverished ex-masters. As our cole means of defense we were given the ballot, and we used it so as to secure the real fruits of the war. Without it we would have returned to slavery; with it we struggled toward freedom. No sooner, however, had we rid ourselves of nearly two-thirds of our illiteracy and accumulated $600,000,000 worth of property in a generation, than this ballot, which had become increasingly necessary to the defense of our civil and property rights, was taken from us by force and fraud.
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> In eight states where the bulk of the Negroes live, black men of property and university training could be, and usually were by law denied the ballot. While the most ignorant white man voted. The attempt to put the personal and property rights of the best of the blacks at the absolute political mercy of the worst of the whites is spreading each day.[3]

Washington believed that propertied Negroes were the safe voters. He could see that the white citizens of the South realized that when a Negro became the owner of a home and was a tax payer having a regular trade or other occupation, at once he became a conservative safe citizen and voter. One would consider the interests

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[2] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Complaint," Crisis 5, 2 (December 1912): 71.

[3] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Avoiding Jim Crow Law," Crisis 1, 3 (January 1911): 9.

of the whole community before casting his ballot, and one whose ballot could not be purchased. An example he used was that of the twenty-eight teachers of Washington's Tuskegee school who applied for life voting certificates under the new constitution of Alabama. He boasted that no one was refused registration. The Board of Registers was kind enough to send him a special request to the effect that they wished he would not fail to register as a life voter. He wished not to convey the impression that all worthy colored people had been registered in Alabama because he was aware there had been many inexcusable and unlawful omissions. Those who had registered represented the best Negroes in the state.

In regard to the political influence of the Negro, Washington observed, that in every state in the South where the Negro did not got through the procedure of casting the ballot in order to express his political influence to the extent that the white man did, he was glad to see a group of property-holding men and often women of high character who always exerted political influence in the matters that concerned the protection and progress of their race. Although some times in a group but nevertheless felt, Washington knew, any number of Negroes in the South whose influence was so strong because of their character that their wish or word expressed to a local or state official would go almost as far as the word of any white man would go. There was a kind of influence that was intangible and hard to define but which could deprive Washington of power. He did not mean to suggest the sort of personal influence described was in any way a

substitute for the ballot or could be expected to take its place and wanted it clearly understood that in a Republican form of government any group of people left permanently without the franchise were placed at a serious disadvantage.

A news source in agreement with Washington documented in Du Bois's Crisis said:

> Undeniably, the black population of the United States has just grievances. So also has the white population in the United States. Race prejudice is here as it is in Europe, and blacks are not the only sufferers. There is brutal tyranny in industry but the blacks are not the only victims. There are social limitations that are cruel and inexcusable, but the blacks are not the only ones against whom the gates are shut.
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> This is a world in which true men give and take. It is a world in which all must make allowances. It is a world in which, after all, men are judged not so much by race or nationality or possessions as by personal merit. Otherwise, how could a Booker Washington, born a Virginia slave, have stood before kings and associated for the greater part of his life with the earth's greatest and best?[4]

As early as 1897 Booker Washington made his first political move to secure his place with the presidents of the United States as the role model and advisor for Negroes. His influence began with President McKinley after he had begun his work at Tuskegee. It was at this time that he formed a resolution in the secret of his heart that he would have something so meaningful and significant that the President of the United States would one day come to see it.

In the fall of 1898 he heard that President McKinley was likely

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[4] Ibid., p. 10.

to visit Atlanta, Georgia for the purpose of taking part in the Peace Jubilee exercise to be held there to commemorate the successful close of the Spanish-American War. Washington was determined to make a direct effort to secure a visit from the President and his cabinet. He went to Washington and was not long in the city before he found his way to the White House. When he got there he found the waiting rooms full of people and his heart began to sink. Washington feared there would not be much chance of his seeing the President that day. After having the opportunity to see Addison Porter, the secretary to the President, and explaining to him his mission, in a matter of minutes Washington got word that President McKinley would see him. How any man could see so many people of all kinds, with all kinds of errands, did so much hard work and still kept himself calm, patient and fresh for each visitor in the way that President McKinley did, could not be understood by Washington.[5] When he saw President McKinley, the President kindly thanked Booker for the work which he was doing at Tuskegee in the interests of the country. Briefly, Washington outlined that the purpose of his visit was to impress upon him the fact that a visit from the chief executive of the nation would encourage and uplift the students, teachers and the entire race. McKinley seemed interested but he did not make a promise to go to Tuskegee, for the reason that his plans about going to Atlanta were

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[5] Washington, Up From Slavery, p. 220.

not then fully made; but he asked Booker to call the matter to his attention a few weeks later.

By the middle of the following month the President had definitely decided to attend the Peace Jubilee at Atlanta. Washington went to Washington again to see McKinley with the view of getting him to extend his trip to Tuskegee. On this second visit, Mr. Charles W. Hare, a prominent white citizen of Tuskegee, kindly volunteered to accompany Washington to reenforce his invitation with one from the white people of Tuskegee and the vicinity.

Just previous to Hare's going to Washington for the second time the country had been excited and the Negro people were depressed because of several severe race riots which had occurred at different points in the South. Now in Washington, Washington as soon as he saw the President, perceived that his heart was greatly burdened by reason of those racial disturbances also. Although there were many people waiting to see him, he detained Washington for some time, discussing the condition and prospects of the race. He remarked several times that he was determined to show his interest and faith in the race, not merely in words, but by actions.[6] When Washington told the President that he thought that at that time scarcely anything would go further in giving hope and encouragement to the race than the fact that the President of the nation would be willing to travel one hundred and

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[6] Ibid.

forty miles out of his way to spend a day a Negro institution, he seemed deeply impressed. The President promised that he would visit Washington's school on the sixteenth of December, 1898.

The morning of December 16th brought to the little city of Tuskegee such a crowd as it had never seen before. With the President came Mrs. McKinley and all of the cabinet officers except one. Most of them brought their wives or some members of their families. Several prominent generals were there also. A lengthy host of newspaper correspondents were there also. The Alabama legislature was in session at Montgomery at this time and its body passed a resolution to adjourn for the purpose of visiting Tuskegee. William McKinley was assassinated a few months after his inauguration in 1901 and Theodore Roosevelt became President.

Washington had known many public men and studied them carefully. The best and highest example of a man that was the same in political office and in private life was President Roosevelt, Wsshington realized. Washington felt he was just the sort of man whom anyone who was trying to do work of any kind for the improvement of any race or type of humanity would naturally go to for advice and help.[7] Washington had no hesitation in claiming and saying that he had never met and questioned whether any man ever went into the Presidency with a more sincere desire to be of real service to the South than Roosevelt did.

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[7] Thornbrough, p. 71.

In the fall of 1901 Washington received a formal invitation from President Roosevelt to come to see him as soon as it was convenient concerning some important race matters. With a friend who was traveling with Washington on a tour of Mississippi, he discussed very seriously the question of whether with the responsibilities he already had, should he take on that added responsibility. After considering the matter carefully they decided that the only policy to pursue was to face the new responsibility since it was in the interest of the race.

Later, Washington was asked by Roosevelt to come to have dinner with him at the White House. This affair placed Washington in a precarious position with white southerners. For weeks and even months thereafter the southern newspapers and southern politicians played up the incident as evidence that Roosevelt and Washington were seeking to break down social barriers between whites and Negroes even though the real significance behind the incident was that the President of the United States was consulting with a southern Negro about political matters.

Throughout the remainder of Roosevelt's administration he relied heavily upon Washington's advice in making appointments of whites as well as Negroes in the South and consulted with him on other matters relating to racial policies.[8] Behind the scene Washington

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[8] Ibid., p. 8.

worked for the election of William Howard Taft as Roosevelt's success in 1908, and he continued to wield important influence during Taft's administration. In spite of his deprecatory attitude toward politics, Washington had far greater political power than any other Negro of his time.

Du Bois and his Crisis magazine discussed the Roosevelt and Washington meeting and the Washington and Taft meeting in an editorial and a documented news source. The Crisis editorial read:

> Near the beginning of his career in the White House President Roosevelt invited Booker Washington to dine with him. The South broke into fury. Its Republican congressmen, few and far between, were put to it to account for the episode. A Cong. Linny, of North Carolina, explained to his confiding constituents that when the noon hour came, Roosevelt looked up to say: 'Aren't you hungry, Booker? Of course, you are. Here, Mandy, go and get Booker something to eat. Give it to him out there with you. There now, Booker, you'll feel better.'[9]

The documented source said:

> Democratic congressmen took the opposite tack. They exaggerated the episode. Alabama elected to Congress after declaring that he wished the same man who had assassinated McKinley had been there to throw a bomb under the table . . .
>
> The south won, in the controversy, to this extent: Roosevelt never invited Booker T. Washington to dine with him again, nor did Taft or President Wilson ever proffer similar hospitalities. It is doubtful in the near future any president risks the favor of the south by doing so. As a nation, we enforced the most serious race proscription in the world.[10]

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[9] W. E. B. Du Bois, "The South," Crisis 11, 3 (January 1916): 125.

[10] Ibid.

Tremendous pressure was put upon Mr. Washington to politic for the white South in upholding segregation and Jim Crow laws. The moment he tried to stand up for the rights of his race the white South proceeded to hammer at him. An instance of this was when he attempted to very mindly appeal for better accommodations on railroads for the Negro. A news source documented in Crisis said:

> Washington's program in the past led him away from rights like this. For the Negro he has sought rights to labor, behave and acquire property.
>
> The longer the Negro avoids crusades for such things as parlor car and lower berth accommodations and the more diligently that he eschews politics, the better his chances for progress. It would be to the Negro's advantage if he was not allowed to vote at all. Booker may as well be reminded that the white men and women passengers are not to sleep in the same pullmans with black men and women passengers. Also, that the railroads are not going to put on special pullmans for the Blacks. Also, that what is here said is true of the white people of the north, the east, and the west, as well as of the white people of the south. Booker was more level-headed before than he is since dined at the White House. What early reason is there in trying to cater and humiliate oneself before people who talk and think like this?[11]

Another news source, documented in Crisis, discussed the Pullman cars and Washington:

> Dr. Booker T. Washington is able to get around the Jim Crow law in Texas by chartering a special pullman car to take him the 200 miles from Austin to Temple. He is about to tour the state with a party of men of both races, as he has recently made trips in other southern states--Mississippi, Tennessee, Virginia, etc.--in which he has rendered service of very great value in interpreting the races to each other but, while Dr. Washington can thus escape the humilitation of the Jim Crow

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[11] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Segregation," Crisis 9, 1 (November 1914): 17.

> car, there are thousands of others of his race of equal refinement and culture who have no such way out. They must go in the rural south into insanity, and dirty cars that look as though they had never been cleaned, that in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred are far inferior to the average white coach, and this is true despite railroad assertions to the contrary. Whether those traveling in these cars are ailing or well, strong or delicate, their plight is the same; it is part of the price they pay for their American birthright! As yet Dr. Washington has never felt called to speak very clearly about this gross discrimination against his race, in accordance with his fixed policy of bearing down upon all the favorable signs of the times and touching but lightly on the evils. But if he would speak out, we believe that he could impress the country deeply by telling what he knows about the feelings of the colored people in regard to the Jim Crow stigma daily placed upon them.[12]

An editorial in Crisis in the form of a poem against Washington and his policy on segregation said:

On Segregation
by Arthur Tunnell
(Inspired by the Washington Protest meeting)

> Strong spirits must awaken! for the time,
> Unhealthy with a bitter sick unrest
> That ne'er relaxes in our fevered brest,
> Bids that we, Godlike, rise about the crime
> That sullies the still beauty of our time,
> That makes a noble state seem still unblest,
> But wearied, labor in a cause sublime.
> Come forth! Ye deep-voiced star-souled men,
> And o'er the sound land raise high your song,
> Sing o'er and o'er the truth you love again,
> To tame the terror of this fearful wrong,
> Teach deep in wrought the power of love through all,
> That without which earth's glories all must.[13]

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[12] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Avoiding Jim Crow Law," Crisis 3, 1 (November 1911): 17.

[13] Crisis 7, 5 (March 1914): 226.

A documented source in Du Bois' Crisis magazine showing whites' allegience to Washington for upholding segregation said:

> For nearly twenty years Booker T. Washington lived among the white people of Alabama without antagonizing them. Their traditions, their whole social system, forbade anything like intimacy with the Negro educator, but he commanded their respect. He realized that a people, like an individual, are a social law unto themselves, and that statutory enactments are but a crystalization of community sentiment. He never would have thought of demanding social recognition from his neighbors, and realizing that the whites were a predominating influence, he did not antagonize any of the laws which on their face are oppressive. It was his mission to educate the Black and riase him to a plane which may, perhaps, in the course of time, render all discriminatory regulation useless. He was willing to sacrifice his personal comfort, and even his personal pride, for the larger things of the future. And Washington's memory is cherished not only by his race, but by thousands of white men and women.[14]

A final opinion on what Negroes thought of whites and Washington's togetherness on segregation in Crisis said:

> Segregation is ill advised because
>
> 1. It is unjust
> 2. It invites other unjust measures
> 3. It will not be productive of good; because practically every thoughtful Negro resents its injustice and doubts its sincerity. Any race adjustment based on injustice finally defeats itself. The civil war is the best illustration of what results where it is attempted to make wrong right or seem to be right.
> 4. It is unnecessary
> 5. It is inconsistent. The Negro is segregated from his white neighbor but white businessmen are not prevented from doing business in Negro neighborhoods.
> 6. There has been no case of segregation of Negroes in the United States that has not widened the breach between the two races. Wherever a form of segregation exists it will

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[14] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Politics," Crisis 12, 4 (August 1916): 186.

> be found that it has been administered in such a way as to embitter the Negro and harm more or less the moral fibre of the white man. That the Negro does not express this constant sense of wrong is no proof that he does not feel it.[15]

In summary, Washington's statements on the politics of segregation of Negroes were seen as somewhat ambiguous and his tone was frequently deprecatory. The event in which this view was most realized was when he made an appeal to the Louisiana Convention in 1915. In his appeal he took the position that the South was justified in imposing educational and property requirements for voting and said, however, that tests should apply to both races equally. To the Louisiana State Constitutional Convention, he said:

> I am no politican; on the other hand, I have always advised my race to give attention to acquiring property, intelligence and character as the necessary bases of good citizenship, rather than to mere political agitation. But the question upon which I write is out of the region of ordinary politics; it affects the civilization of two races, not for to-day alone but for a very long time to come: it is up in the region of duty of man to man, of Christian to Christian.
>
> The Negro agrees with you that it is necessary to the salvation of the south that restriction be put upon the ballot. I know that you have two serious problems before you: ignorant and corrupt government on the one hand, and on the other, a way to restrict the ballot so taht control will be in the hands of the intelligent without regard to race. With the sincerest sympathy with you in your efforts to find a way out of the difficulty, I want to suggest that no state in the south can make a law that will provide an opportunnity or temptation for an ignorant colored man, without injuring both men.

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[15] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Washington," Crisis 11, 4 (February 1916): 176.

> The Negro does not object to an educational or property test, but let the law be so clear that no one clothed with state authority will be tempted to pursue and degrade himself, by putting one interpretation upon it for the white man and another for the black man. Study the history of the south, and you will find that where there has been the most dishonesty in the matter of voting, there you will find today the lowest moral condition of both races.
>
> I beg of you, further, that in the degree that you close the ballot box against the ignorant that you open the school house. More than one-half of the people of your state are Negroes. No state can long prosper when a large percentage of its citizenship is in ignorance and poverty and has no interest in government. I beg of you that you do not treat us as an alien people. We are not aliens. You know us; you know that we have cleared your forests, tilled your fields, nursed your children, and protected your families. There is an attachment between us that few understand. While I do not presume to be able to advise you, ywet it is in my heart to say that if your convention would do something that would prevent, for all time, strained relations between the two races, and would permanently settle the matter of political relations in one southern state at least, let the very best educational opportunities be provided for both races: and added to this the enactment of an election law that shall be incapable of unjust discrimination, at the same time providing that in proportion as the ignorant secure education, property and character, they will be given all the rights of citizenship. Any other course will take from one-half of your citizens interest in the state and hope and ambition to become intelligent producers and taxpayers to become useful and virtuous citizens.[16]

Of B. T. Washington's appeal to the Louisiana Convention, Du Bois and his Crisis magazine in an article said:

> The inimitable way in which Dr. Washington told this part of his knowledge of the traits of the Negro and the white man tickled the risibles of everybody who heard him; laughter was general. Other amusing anecdotes the butt of which was the Negro character were frequently told to illustrate or emphasize an idea by Dr. Washington during the delivery of his

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16 Thornbrough, pp. 67-68.

advice and admonition. Dr. Washington confined his advice wholly to the idea of Industrial and Domestic training for the Negro, on the theory that an education that is not useless to any boy or girl of the race and that the Negro is adopted especially to agricultural and domestic service. He did not once, in the slightest way, suggest the need of preparation of Negroes for the business of banking, the profession of law, medicine, pharmacy, teaching or the ministry. And the characters he held up as deserving the confidence and admiration of the white people were always such as uncle Tom, aunt Cloe, old aunt Mary, or old uncle Joe. Men of the Negro race like Frederick Douglass, Crispus Attucks, Langston, Revels and others, whose worth and characters first opened the eyes of conscience and the world upon the possibilities of the Negro were nevery mentioned nor did he think to choose any of the number of living men and women of the race to set up as examples before these people.

He said , the Negro is just 50 years old, and his history in this country is yet to be made. This speech, with local variations, was made throughout the state of Louisiana to [17] thousands of white and colored people.

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17 W. E. B. Du Bois, "Mr. B. T. Washington in Louisiana," Crisis 10, 3 (July 1915): 145.

CHAPTER IV

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND EDUCATION AS SEEN THROUGH THE CRISIS

Of Washington's personal experience with education he expressed that soon after he was made free by the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, there came the new opportunity to attend a public school at his home town in West Virginia. One day the teacher said that the chief purpose of education was to enable one to speak and write the English language correctly. This made a negative lodgement in his mind and stayed there. He could not put his thoughts into words clearly enough to express instinctive disagreement with his teacher but to him this definition did not seem adequate. It grated harshly upon his young ears and he had reason for feeling that education ought to do more for a person than merely teach him to read and write.[1] He argued that his mother, who lived in abject poverty, lacked the commonest necessities of life and worked day and night but gave him a chance to go to school for two or three months of the year. All this suggested to him that education required him to learn ways to make life more endurable and more attractive for his mother or for anyone else who helped a person to get their education.

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[1] Washington, Up From Slavery, p. 77.

Washington's educational philosophy stressed the importance of relating education to life. A theory of education for the Negro that would not confine him for all time to farm life and production of the best and the most sweet potatoes but would, if he succeeded in this line of industry, lay the foundations upon which his children and grandchildren could grow to higher and more important things in life. The Tuskegee system of Industrial training did just this. It fitted Negroes to live in the South and improve their economic condition but did not make them discontented with conditions they could not change.

Washington got the job at Tuskegee through General Armstrong of Hampton Institute, who referred to the fact that he had received a letter from some gentleman in Alabama asking him to recommend someone to take charge of what was to be a normal school for the Negro people in the little town of Tuskegee in that state. These gentlemen seemed to have taken it for granted that no Negro man suitable for that position could be secured, and that they were expecting the General to recommend a white man for the position. The next day General Armstrong sent for Washington to come to his office and much to Washington's surprise, asked him if he thought he could fill the position in Alabama. He told him that the would be willing to try. Accordingly, Armstrong wrote to the people who had applied to him for the information that he did not know of any white man to suggest but if they could take a Negro, he had one whom he could recommend. In this letter Washington's name was given. One Sunday evening during chapel exercises a messenger came in and handed the General a

telegram. At the end of the exercises he read the telegram to the school. In substance, these were its words: Booker T. Washington will suit us. Send him at once.[2]

In Washington's industrial teaching, he kept three things in mind. First, to enable the students to meet conditions as they existed in the part of the South where they lived. Second, to teach enough skill and give sufficient moral training to enable every Tuskegee graduate to make a living for himself and others. Third, to send every graduate out feeling and knowing that labor was dignified and beautiful, and to make each one love labor instead of trying to escape it.[3] Washington also wanted to give young men and women an education that would fit them to take up and carry with greater perfection the work that their fathers and mothers had been doing. He saw clearly that education without the skills to change conditions would leave the students Tuskegee teachers were to guide, worse off than they were in their "unawakened" state.

One thing that Washington always insisted upon at Tuskegee was that everyone there should have absolute cleanliness. Over and over again the students were reminded in those first years that people would excuse Negroes for poverty, for their lack of comforts and conveniences, but they would not excuse them for dirt. The thing he insisted upon at Tuskegee in his cleanliness campaign was the use of

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[2] Ibid.

[3] Thornbrough, p. 38.

the toothbrush. Many times students who went there brought no article except a toothbrush because they had heard from the lips of older students about Washington insisting upon the use of this.

Tuskegee was an exception all of this time; the overall education and financial assistance for Negro education was bleak. In an editorial over the matter, in Crisis Du Bois said:

> In Wilcox county, Alabama, there are nearly 11,000 black children and 2,000 white children of school age. Last year $3,569 of the public school fund went for the education of the black children in that county, and $30,294 for the education of the white children; this, notwithstanding, that there are five times as many Negro children as white. In other words, there was expended for the education of each Negro child in Wilcox country 33 cents, and for each white child $15. In the six counties surrounding and touching Wilcox county there are 55,000 Negro children of school age. There was appropriated for their education last year, from the public school fund $40,000 while for the 19,662 white children in the same counties there was appropriated from the public fund $199,000.[4]

Another editorial in Crisis on the bleakness of Negro education said:

> Along with our problems has gone a systematic attempt to curtail the education of the Black race. Under a widely advertised system of universal education, not one black boy in three to-day has in the United States a chance to learn to read and write. The proportion of school funds due to black children are often spent on whites, and the burden on private charity to support education, which is a public duty, has become almost intolerable.[5]

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[4] W. E. B. Du Bois, "Complaint," Crisis 5, 2 (December 1912): 71.

[5] Ibid.

In one of Booker Washington's final speeches before the American Missionary Association he asked for more funds for the higher education of the Negro. Crisis in an article about it said:

> In order to give the Negro youth in the south adequate facilities for obtaining thorough training in normal and college courses it will be necessary to increase the little more than $4,000,000 now being expended annually for Negro higher and secondary education to $10,000,000 or more. In other words, Negro higher and secondary education needs about $6,000,000 more annually than it is now receiving.
>
> At the present rate, it is taking not a few days or a few years, but a century or more to get Negro education on a plane at all similar to that on which the education of whites is.[6]

Coupled with these events other Negro educators were in disagreement with Washington's Industrial education. A Crisis editorial of the matter said:

> This policy brought Dr. Washington into conflict with many other leaders of the Negroes, but he maintained it from the beginning of his work in Tuskegee. He was not less concerned with the progress of the Blacks in the United States than were those with whom he could not agree as to methods; their dispute was over the means to be used, not the end to be sought.[7]

Du Bois, the one most in doubt, also thought that by emphasizing the Industrial side of education that Washington supplied consent to the relegation of his race to an inferior position forever.

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6 W. E. B. Du Bois, "Washington," Crisis 11, 4 (February 1916): 176.

7 W. E. B. Du Bois, "The South," Crisis 11, 3 (January 1916): 125.

He was in disagreement with Washington when he said that there was no way for Blacks except the way of hard work, wise work, patient work, with constant improvement at every step, with the great purpose of redemption in the breast of every Black man and woman.[8]

Educators in alliance with Du Bois reasoned industrial training would be more potent for good to the race when its relation to the other phases of essential education was more clearly understood. There was afloat no end of discussion as to what was the proper education of the Negro, and much of it was hurtful to the cause it was designed to promote. The danger for them at that time and most seriously threatening to the success of Industrial training was the ill-advised insistance in certain quarters that this form of education should be offered to the exclusion of all other branches of knowledge. No one understood if the real needs of the race would dictate that Industrial education should be given to every Negro to the exclusion of the professions and other branches of learning. There was a place and an increasing need for the Negro college as well as for the Industrial Institute, and the two kinds of schools should have cooperated in the common purpose of elevating the masses.

If the idea became fixed in the minds of the people that industrial education meant class education and that it should have been offered to the Negro because he was a Negro and that the Negro

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[8] Ibid., p. 122.

should be confined to this sort of education, Washington feared serious injury would be done to the cause of hand training. In defending it he emphasized that at Tuskegee Institute Industrial education was not emphasized because Negroes were to receive it but because the ripest educational thought of the world approved it. The undeveloped material resources of the South made it peculiarly important for both races, and because it should have been given in large measure to any race regardless of color which was at the same stage of development as the Negro.[9]

Tuskegee emphasized industrial training for the Negro not with the thought that the Negro should have been confined to industrialism, the plow, the hoe, but because the underdeveloped material resources of the South offered at that time a field peculiarly advantageous to the worker skilled in agriculture and the industries. Here was found the Negroes' most inviting opportunities for training in the rudimentary elements that ultimately made for a permanently progressive civilization.

The Crisis in editorials gave accounts of the defense of Tuskegee by Washington that said:

> Everything about the black man's past goes to show that, until the blight of slavery was put upon him by peoples who had a better running start toward power, his history was honorable, though, because of climatic conditions, it did not follow the lines of the Northern races. The colored man in America, with the help of such institutions as Tuskegee, has shown himself capable of advancement, and the advancement has

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[9] Ibid.

largely been accomplished through efforts of men like Washington, Du Bois and others of the race.[10]

An editorial from a news source documented in Crisis said:

> Booker Washington's account is closed. Many things have been said for and against him. Some people in this country had faith in him that was almost fanatical, and lavished on him admiration and praise rather distasteful to those with whom the observance of it is almost a religion. Others regarded him as a bad and dangerous man. Some of his own color thought he was on the wrong line and was failing to give service for the large amounts of money he obtained. We will have the evidence presently and will be able to arrive at just judgement and accurate observations. We confess to having felt always a little doubt, hardly strong enough to be described as distrust, of the practical results of the Tuskegee school.[11]

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10 Ibid.

11 Ibid..

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Booker Washington was during the years 1910 and 1915 the undisputed leader of the Negro race. He was of the philosophy that advocated the Negro should rely mainly on his own self help. The event that made all people have confidence in his emergence was the way he expressed a new racial unity in his Atlanta address in 1895. Other activities by him relating to his position were his founding and organizing of Tuskegee Institute, being influential with presidents, associating with powerful southern whites, recognizing segregation and racism and reacting to it, projecting himself as a businessman, and disputing other Negro leaders' claims and means of achieving racial progress.

Chief opponent and antagonist against Booker Washington was W. E. B. Du Bois. He was of the philosophy that the Negro should make his way in the white American mainstream through his creative and intellectual talents. Du Bois's tool for disputing Washington's claims was his Crisis magazine which he created and brought on the scene in 1910. In all of Booker Washington's endeavors Du Bois challenged him.

Lastly, the purpose and intention in the writing of the thesis was to defend Booker Washington's actions. A defense because during

the time his way was the only one that had credibility and was recognized in the eyes of the white race since realistically the white race's opinions of any of the Negro's upward mobility and aspirations to get anywhere in the country counted.

Contained in this thesis is a review and discussion of the editorials in the NAACP monthly, The Crisis magazine which have documented from the desk of W. E. B. Du Bois, a leader himself, many of the activities of a conservative leader proclaimed by both races, Booker T. Washington, and shown how he held up under Negro criticism. The root problem has been that one segment of the Negro community disagreed with the other about the course of the race for the future.

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